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## COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE IN RELATION TO SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Soviet officialdom still doubtless considers that Marxian doctrine forecasts Soviet triumph in the international struggle for the overthrow of capitalistic governments, and still relies upon the proletariat of capitalistic countries for assistance in war. The Kremlin's acceptance of the risk of general war will thus be influenced in some degree by the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrines which are currently accepted as authoritative. However, even if there were no question of the current degree of acceptance of these doctrines, they would give no clear guidance in interpreting Soviet intentions.

The doctrine of the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism might be interpreted as inhibiting any decision by the Soviet Union involving the risk of war since capitalism could be assumed to collapse some day anyhow. Soviet doctrine has however rigidly held that this inevitable collapse could occur only from revolutionary action resulting in the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Communist doctrine that the USSR had the obligation to further the overthrow of capitalistic governments throughout the world served, at least in the early days of the Soviet regime, to confirm the Soviet leaders in their conviction of the constant danger of war between the USSR and capitalistic countries. Stalin, in his controversy with Trotsky, later repudiated the idea of constantly pushing the world revolution at all times and at all costs, while agreeing that the USSR would never be finally free of attack so long as other countries continued to have capitalistic regimes.

The traditional Communist doctrine that capitalistic countries are driven to preparations for war and to war itself by the alleged failure of capitalistic countries like the United States to find markets for goods produced connects the doctrine of the collapse of capitalism with the theory of the cause of wars. This theory may also be a factor in causing the USSR to believe it currently stands in danger of attack by the United States and its allies, but it affords little support for the expectation of the collapse of capitalism without war.

The members of the present ruling bureaucracy of the USSR are unlikely to be influenced primarily by doctrinal considerations stemming from the revolutionary past. They are functionaries

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of a police state, with appreciation for the psychological and material privileges that go with their offices. They are primarily concerned with the security and with the expansion of the power of the state upon which their status and even their lives depend. Their almost psychopathic feeling both of domestic and of external insecurity largely obscures any distinction between the security of the Soviet bloc and the expansion of the bloc which they at any time may consider essential to intimidate or destroy actual or potential enemies of the regime.

The World Revolution has thus become only one of a number of instruments in the Kremlin's tool kit. Since foreign Communist parties are almost wholly controlled by the Kremlin, the rulers of the Soviet state can use this instrument whenever and however it serves Soviet power policy. The doctrine of World Revolution is certainly no longer either a blueprint or a time table of foreign policy for the present-day rulers of the Soviet state.

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